

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 PEKING 0576

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT CH

SUBJ: 5TH NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS CLOSES, NEW STATE LEADERS NAMED

1. SUMMARY. THE FIRST SESSION OF THE 5TH NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS (NPC) CLOSED ON THE EVENING OF MARCH 5 FOLLOWING DALONG COMMEMORATION OF THE 80TH BIRTHDAY OF THE LATE PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI. HAVING WRAPPED HIMSELF SECURLY IN CHOU'S MANTLE, PARTY CHAIRMAN HUA KUO-FENG WAS REELECTED PREMIER OF THE STATE COUNCIL. OTHER STATE APPOINTMENTS HAD ALSO BEEN WIDELY ANTICIPATED: PARTY ELDER YEH CHIEN-YING RELINQUISHED HIS DEFENSE PORTFOLIO IN FAVOR OF THE LARGELY CEREMONIAL POST OF CHAIRMAN OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE OF THE NPC (THE DE FACTO HEAD OF STATE,; TENG HSIAO-PING REMAINED THE RANKING VICE PREMIER BEHIND HUA BUT WAS NOT AWARDED THE TITLE
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"FIRST VICE PREMIER"; HSU HSIANG-CHIEN, A RESPECTED OLD MARSHAL AND POLITBURO MEMBER, WAS AWARDED THE DEFENSE PORTFOLIO DESPITE HIS AGE (76) IN AN APPARENT COMPROMISE AIMED AT AVERTING FACTIONAL SQUABBLING; AND FOREIGN MINISTER HUANG HUA RETAINED HIS POST. IN FACTIONAL TERMS, THE CONGRESS SEEMS AT FIRST BLUSH TO HAVE BEEN A VIRTUAL STANDOFF; TENG'S MAJOR OPPOINENTS RETAINED THEIR POSITIONS BUT THE NEW STATE COUNCIL, WHILE

"NOMINATED" BY HUA KUO-FENG, SEEMS DOMINATED BY VETERAN CADRES WITH PAST TIES AND PRESUMABLY CURRENT LOYALTIES TO TENG. EIGHT NEW MINISTRIES, COMMISSIONS OR SPECIAL AGENCIES WERE CREATED; FIVE NEW VICE PREMIERS WERE NAMED; AND MANY PERSONS AMONG THE 37 NOW HOLDING CABINET RANK ARE NEWLY NAMED (OR IDENTIFIED). IN GENERAL, THE NEW STATE COUNCIL SETUP CLOSELY RESEMBLES THE PRE-CULTURAL REVOLUTION MODEL. THE CONGRESS ALSO NAMED HEADS OF THE SUPREME COURT, SUPREME PEOPLE, PROCURATORATE, ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, AND ACADEMY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES; "UNANIMOUSLY" APPROVED THE REVISED CONSTITUTION AND THE REPORTS BY HUA KUO-FENG AND YEH CHIEN-YING; AND UNANIMOUSLY APPROVED THE NEW NATIONAL ANTHEM, WHICH, LIKE THE CONSTITUTION, CALLS FOR "HOLDING HIGH THE BANNER OF MAO TSE-TUNG." THUS FAR THE FULL TEXTS OF THE VARIOUS 5TH NPC DOCUMENTS HAVE NOT BEEN RELEASED. END SUMMARY.

2. AS HAD BEEN BROADLY HINTED ALL WEEK TO FOREIGN JOURNALISTS, THE FIRST SESSION OF THE 5TH NPC ADJOURNED ON THE EVENING OF MARCH 5. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE CLOSE OF THE CONGRESS, BROADCAST OVER PEKING RADIO AT 8 PM AND ACCOMPANIED BY FIREWORKS AND ILLUMINATION OF PUBLIC BUILDINGS IN CENTRAL PEKING, FOLLOWED DAYLONG COMMEMORATION BY ALL PEKING MEDIA OF THE 80TH BIRTHDAY OF THE LATE PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI.

3. SINCE THE OPENING OF THE NPC ON FEBRUARY 26, PARTY CHAIRMAN AND PREMIER OF THE STATE COUNCIL HUA KUO-FENG ENGINEERED, OR WAS THE BENEFICIARY OF, MEDIA COVERAGE LINKING HIM WITH THE REVERED
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PREMIER CHOU. DISPLAYING CONCERN FOR THE COMMON MAN, SITTING IN "AS AN ORDINARY DELEGATE" ON DISCUSSION SESSIONS, DELIVERING THE REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE GOVERNMENT "IN A SONOROUS AND FIRM VOICE," AND PRESIDING OVER THE NPC SESSION AT WHICH YEH CHIEN-YING DELIVERED THE REPORT ON THE REVISION OF THE STATE CONSTITUTION, HUA MANAGED TO STEAL THE LIMELIGHT FROM HIS ONLY POTENTIAL CHALLENGER FOR THE PREMIERSHIP, TENG HSIAO-PING. TF SPECIALS BROADCAST ON MARCH 5 TO COMMEMORATE CHOU EN-LAI'S 80TH BIRTHDAY ALSO FEATURED HUA KUO-FENG RATHER THAN TENG HSIAO-PING,

THE PERSON SELECTED BY CHOU IN 1975 TO BE HIS SUCCESSOR.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0035

INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG PRIORITY

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4. WRAPPED SECURELY IN CHOU'S MANTLE, HUA WAS REELECTED PREMIER OF THE STATE COUNCIL. IN FACT, THIS WAS A DECISION NOTABLY LACKING IN SUSPENSE; THE RESULT OF THE "ELECTION" WAS GENERALLY EXPECTED PRIOR TO THE OPENING OF THE CONGRESS AND WAS LEAKED TO THE YUGOSLAVS (AND SUBSEQUENTLY REPORTED BY TANJUG) A DAY EARLY.

5. OTHER STATE APPOINTMENTS HAD ALSO BEEN WIDELY ANTICIPATED. PARTY VICE CHAIRMAN YEH CHIEN-YING, A REVERED ELDER STATESMAN WHO PASSED HIS 80TH BIRTHDAY LAST SUMMER AND WHO IS IN VISIBLY FRAIL HEALTH, RELINQUISHED HIS DEFENSE MINISTERIAL PORTFOLIO IN FAVOR OF THE LARGELY CEREMONIAL POST OF CHAIRMAN OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE OF THE NPC (AND HENCE THEDE FACTO HEAD OF STATE). WHILE REQUIRED TO BE LESS ACTIVE THAN PREVIOUSLY, YEH WILL UNDOUBTEDLY RETAIN HIS CONSIDERABLE INFLUENCE SO LONG
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AS HIS HEALTH PERMITS. IN THIS SENSE, YEH SEEMS TOBE FOLLOWING THE ADVICE ON "THE GLORIOUS TASK OF OLD CADRES" ISSUED BY A PEOPLE'S DAILY "SPECIAL COMMENTATOR" ON THE EVE OF THE CONGRESS -- TO GIVE UP TAXING DAY-TO-DAY DUTIES IN FAVOR OF AN ADVISORY ROLE TO ASSISTA A YOUNGER GENERATION.

6. HSU HSIANG-CHIEN, A RESPECTED OLD MARSHAL AND POLITBURO MEMBER WHOSE CAREER BEARS A MARKED RESEMBLANCE TO THAT OF YEH CHIEN-YING WAS AWARDED THE DEFENSE PORTFOLIO DESPITE HIS DAVANCED AGE (76). ALTHOUGH HSU IS INDISPUTABLY IN THE

CAMP OF VETERAN CADRES (HIS PERSONAL REMINISCENCE OF CHOU EN-LAI WAS PUBLISHED ON MARCH 5).AND HAS BEEN ASSOCIATED WITH TENG HSIAO-PING, HIS APPOINTMENT IS AN APPARENT COMPROMISE AIMED AT AVERTING FACTIONAL SQUABBLING. THENG HSIAO-PING'S FIRST CHOICE FOR THE DEFENSE SLOT WAS HSU SHIH-YU, THE CURRENT CANTON MILITARY REGION COMMANDER NOTORIOUS FOR PERSONAL AMBITION AND LONG RUMORED TO HAVE BEEN HIS EYE BOTH ON THE DEFENSE MINISTRY AND THE PEKING MILITARY REGION COMMAND. THE CONGRESS ALSO NAMED HSU HSIANG-CHIEN AS ONE OF THE NEW VICE PREMIERS WHILE RELIEVING HIM OF HIS CEREMONIAL DUTIES AS VICE CHAIRMAN OF THE NPC STANDING COMMITTEE.

7. FOREIGN MINISTER HUANG HUA WAS REELECTED TO HIS POST DESPITE FAIRLY WIDESPREAD RUMORS ABOUT HIS POSSIBLE REPLACEMENT EITHER BY POLITBURO MEMBER AND INTERNATIONAL LIAISON DEPARTMENT DIRECTOR KENG PAIO OR BY MINISTER OF CULTURE AND FORMER CHIEF OF PRCL HUANG CHEN.

8. FIVE NEW VICE PREMIERS WERE NAMED (HSU HSIANG-CIEN, KENG PIAO, FANG YI, KANG SHIH-EN, AND CHEN MU-HUA) WHILE TWO ASSOCIATES OF THE GANG OF FOUR, LONG OUT OF PUBLIC SIGHT, WERE FORMALLY DROPPED (SUN CHIEN AND WU KUEI-HSIEN). AMONG THE 13 VICE
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PREMIERS TENG HSIAO-PING IS LISTED FIRST, ALTHOUGH HE WAS NOT AWARDED THE FORMAL TITLE OF "FIRST VICE PREMIER" THAT HAD BEEN EXPECTED BY SOME. CHEN MU-HUA, THE SOLE WOMAN ON THE PARTY POLITBURO, IS LIKEWISE THE ONLY WOMAN AMONG THE VICE PREMIERS -- A ONE-FOR-ONE REPLACEMENT FOR THE DISGRACED WU KUEI-HSIEN. OTHERWISE, THE VICE PREMIERS ARE ELDERLY (AVERAGE AGE IN THE LATE 60S) AND APPARENTLY SELECTED FOR FUNCTIONAL EXPERTISE
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9. ASSUMING A FACTIONAL CLEAVAGE BETWEEN TENG HSIAO-PING AND HIS

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ALLIES ON ONE SIDE OPPOSED TO A LOOSE COALITION AROUND HUA KUO-FENG ON THE OTHER, THE CONGRESS SEEMS AT FIRST BLUSH TO HAVE BEEN A VIRTUAL STANDOFF. HUA KUO-FENB DOMINATED THE CONGRESS, TENG'S BEST-KNOWN ADVERSARIES RETAINED THEIR POSITIONS (CHEN HSI-LIEN AND CHI TENG-KUEI AS VICE PREMIERS, WU TEH AND SAIFUDIN AS VICE CHAIRMEN OF THE NPC STANDING COMMITTEE), TENG'S CANDIDATE FAILED TO WIN THE DEFENSE PORTFOLIO, AND TENG HIMSELF EMERGED WITHOUT NEW TITLES OR PRESTIGE. ON THE OTHER HAND THE NEW MINISTERIAL-LEVEL APPOINTEES TO THE STATE COUNCIL, WHILE "NOMINATED" BY HUA, ARE DOMINATED BY CADRES WITH PAST TIES AND PRESUMABLY CURRENT LOYALTIES TO TENG.

10. THE NEWCOMERS, IN SHORT, ARE MOSTLY OLDTIMERS. AMONG THE MINISTERS OF THE SEVEN MACHINE BUILDING MINISTRIES (MBM) -- LARGELY CONCERNED WITH MILITARY AND DEFENSE MATTERS -- THE TENG IMPRINT IS MOST APPARENT. THERE IS NOT A SINGLE HOLDOVER FROM THE CONFIDENTIAL

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MINISTERS APPOINTED IN 1975. TENG'S ASSOCIATE SUNG JEN-CHIUNG HAS TAKEN OVER THE 7TH MBM FROM CHEN HSI-LIEN CRONY WANG YANG; LU TUNG, A PRE-CULTURAL REVOLUTION MINISTER OF METALLURGY, IS IN CHARGE OF THE 3RD MBM; CHANG CHEN, A PRE-CULTURAL REVOLUTION VICE MINISTER OF CHEMICAL INDUSTRIES, WAS NAMED TO THE 5TH MBM; AND PRESUMED TENG SUPPORTERS CHOU TZU-CHIEN AND WANG CHENG REMAIN IN CHARGE OF THE 1ST AND 4TH MBM.

11. IN GENERAL, THE NEW STATE COUNCIL SETUP CLOSELY RESEMBLES THE PRE-CULTURAL REVOLUTION MODEL. EIGHT NEW MINISTRIES, COMMISSIONS OR SPECIAL AGENCIES WERE (RE)CREATED: THE STATE ECONOMIC COMMISSION, STATE SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL COMMISSION, NATIONAL MINORITIES AFFAIRS COMMISSION, INTERNAL

AFFAIRS MINISTRY, PETROLEUM MINISTRY, CHEMICALS INDUSTRY (PETROLEUM AND CHEMICALS PREVIOUSLY BEING INCORPORATED IN ONE MINISTRY), TEXTILE INDUSTRY (THE EXISTENCE OF THIS MINISTRY WAS REVEALED FOR THE FIRST TIME IN A MARCH 2 NCNA REPORT ON A VICE MINISTER OF TEXTILE INDUSTRY WHO HAD RISEN FROM SPINNER TO THAT POST "LAST YEAR"), AND NATIONAL SUPPLY AND MARKETING GENERAL COOPERATIVES.

12. MOST NOTEWORTHY AMONG THE YOUNGER NEW MINISTERS ARE SUNG CHEN-MING (PETROLEUM MINISTER) AND SUN CHING-WEN (CHEMICALS MINISTER), BOTH PREVIOUSLY VICE MINISTERS OF PETROLEUM AND CHEMICALS. SUNG (THE FORMER FIRST SECRETARY OF THE TACHING OIL FIELDS WHO WAS PROMINENT DURING HUA KUO-FENG'S APRIL 1977 INSPECTION VISIT THERE) AND SUN HAVE BOTH HAD RECENT DEALINGS WITH AMERICANS, THE FORMER MEETING SENATOR JACKSON AND THE LATTER VISITING THE US AT THE INVITATION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY.

13. THE CONGRESS ALSO REAPPOINTED CHIANG HUA AS PRESIDENT OF THE SUPREME PEOPLE'S COURT AND KUO MO-JO AS PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES. IT RECREATED THE SUPREME
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PEOPLE'S PROCURACY, NAMING HUANG HUO-HSING (THE DEPUTY PROCURATOR GENERAL FROM 1955 THROUGH 1975) AS PROCURATOR GENERAL, AND IT NAMED NOTED HISTORIAN AND TENG HSIAO-PING ASSOCIATE HU CHIAO-MU AS PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES ACADEMY.

14. THE CONGRESS "UNANIMOUSLY" APPROVED THE REVISED CONSTITUTION, THE REPORTS BY HUA AND YEH, AND THE NEW NATIONAL ANTHEM WHICH, LIKE THE CONSTITUTION, CALLS FOR "HOLDING HIGH THE BANNER OF MAO TSE-TUNG." THUS FAR THE FULL TEXTS OF THE VARIOUS NPC DOCUMENTS HAVE NOT BEEN RELEASED.

15. POLITBURO RANKINGS. ALTHOUGH THE NPC WAS A STATE OCCASION, IT GENERATED VARIOUS LISTS WHICH SEEM TO IMPLY A NEW PARTIAL RANK ORDERING OF POLITBURO MEMBERS. POLITBURO MEMBERS DOUBLING AS VICE PREMIERS ARE RANKED AS FOLLOWS: TENG HSIAO-PING, LI HSIEN-NIEN, HSU HSIANG-CHIEN, CHI TENG-KUEI, YU CHIU-LI, CHEN HSI-LIEN, KENG PIAO, CHEN YUNG-KUEI, FANG YI. FOLLOWING THREE NON-POLITBURO MEMBERS IS POLITBURO ALTERNATE CHEN MU-HUA, HOWEVER, WHICH MAKES US SLIGHTLY WARY ABOUT THE RATIONALE FOR THE LISTING. POLITBURO MEMBERS DOUBLING AS NPC VICE CHAIRMEN ARE LISTED IN APPARENT RANK ORDER AS FOLLOWS: NIEH JUNG-CHEN, LIU PO-CHENG, ULANFU, WU TEH, WEI KUO-CHING. AGAIN, FOLLOWING SEVEN NON-POLITBURO MEMBERS IS POLITBURO ALTERNATE SAIFUDIN.

16. WE WILL SEND BY SEPTTEL OVERALL IMPRESSIONS OF NPC.
WOODCOCK

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